

Peace News

The International Pacifist Weekly

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Back to the bad old days of Cold War

MIDDLE EAST COMMENTARY
By ROY SHERWOOD

WE are now back in the bad old days of a cold war so intense that it is much easier to see how things can get worse than how to return to the comparative ease of the summer of 1956, before the Franco-British adventure in Egypt and the Soviet repression in Hungary.

Instead of offering a prospect of better mutual understanding, the coming United Nations General Assembly discussions are likely to intensify hostile feelings. In the meantime the world is faced with a more than ordinarily dangerous situation in the Middle East.

The immediate cause of the recent worsening of that situation lies, to my mind, in the ill-advised American supply of armaments to Jordan, and particularly in the theatrical way in which the first delivery by air was advertised before it was played down in a belated access of wisdom.

As matters stand at the moment, the always dangerous Middle-Eastern situation is governed by two fierce reciprocal hostilities, intensified by a number of danger-increasing factors.

BASIC HOSTILITIES

The basic hostilities are the Baghdad pact which includes Russia's neighbour Turkey,

In Britain this week 3 MOVES AGAINST H-BOMBS

PEACE NEWS REPORTER

THREE significant developments in the campaigns against the manufacture and testing of British H-bombs have been announced this week.

1 Sunday's Trafalgar Square Rally and march is to be the opening move in a campaign to get the Labour Party to renounce the manufacture of H-bombs when it next comes to power.

THE R.A.F. CHAPLAIN AND THE PACIFISTS

See Sybil Morrison - page 8

must still be taken into account.) Even if this were to happen, it would mean a further opening for Moscow propaganda—another close association between western "economic imperialism" and those sections of Arabian populations least concerned with the raising of the masses' living standards;

(b) the entry of Italy into the oil world. So far, this is tentative. But it is also full of potential danger for the whole complex of Western oil exploitation in the Middle East.

Nowhere, so far, is any oil-producing country receiving more than one-half of the profits gained from its mineral wealth.

With the keenness of those anxious to gain a footing in a competitive field, the Italians are reported to have secured a

MAN the ATOM and the renunciation of WAR

By Professor
MAX BORN

Professor Born, generally regarded as the founder of modern physics, is the teacher of many of the top-ranking physicists of our time. A Nobel Prize winner, he was one of the eighteen German nuclear physicists whose declaration against German atomic weapons rocked Dr. Adenauer's government.

Peace News prints this important statement by arrangement with Professor Born and by permission of the Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists, 5734 University Ave., Chicago, USA, in whose June issue it first appeared.

TO begin with a special case, let me say a few words about "Myself and the Atom." We, the atom and I, have been on friendly terms, until recently.

I saw in it the key to the deepest secrets of Nature, and it revealed to me the greatness of creation and the Creator. It supplied me with satisfactory work, in research and teaching, and thus provided me with a livelihood.

But now it has become the source of deep sorrow and apprehension, to myself as well as to everybody else.

Since the destruction of Nagasaki and Hiroshima the atom has become a spectre threatening us with annihilation. We ourselves have exercised the phantom, it has served us faithfully for a while, but now it is insubordinate.

Would it not be better to have nothing to do with it? Or is it still in our power to tame it and to use it as our servant?

Psychosis of fear

2 In support of this campaign, launched by the group which last year formed the ad-hoc Suez Emergency Committee, a pamphlet has been published ("Mutiny Against Madness," published for the author, K. Zilliacus MP, by Housmans, 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4, 1s.) pointing out that on the present Government's own showing Britain, with or without an H-bomb of her own, cannot defend herself and must rely on American protection. Hence the folly of believing that this country can, by making H-bombs, become independent of the USA or acquire bargaining power.

Labour is urged to pledge itself to breaking the psychosis of fear by renouncing the manufacture of H-bombs when it comes into power, thus easing tension and placing Britain in a moral position to give a political lead for peace.

Twenty-four MPs, including two members of the Labour Executive and representatives of the TUC,

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BASIC HOSTILITIES

The basic hostilities are the Baghdad pact which includes Russia's neighbour Turkey, and the American declared policy of endeavouring to rope in as much as possible of the Arab world against the Soviets; and Russia's twofold response of increased hostility against Turkey and her effort to split the countries of the Arabian peninsula if she cannot succeed in pulling them over to her side. In that, incidentally, she is not foredoomed to failure.

Jordan's internal conditions are such that she is not a highly reliable ally for the West, and, as we shall see presently, America's new friend Saudi Arabia may also conceivably prove less staunch in loyalty to the Eisenhower Doctrine than is now supposed.

The direct danger-increasing factors are:

(a) the new American announcement that the Government's Foreign Aid is no longer to be made available in cases where it would help "to socialise" a country. Industrial and extractive programmes, i.e., mining or oil projects, are no longer to be assisted by the US Government, and it is suggested, rather surprisingly, that this will result in a wider flow of American business capital abroad. (This change of intention regarding US aid has since been denied, but in so unconvincing a fashion that it

Even if this were to happen, it would mean a further opening for Moscow propaganda—another close association between western "economic imperialism" and those sections of Arabian populations least concerned with the raising of the masses' living standards;

(b) the entry of Italy into the oil world. So far, this is tentative. But it is also full of potential danger for the whole complex of Western oil exploitation in the Middle East. Nowhere, so far, is any oil-producing country receiving more than one-half of the profits gained from its mineral wealth.

With the keenness of those anxious to gain a footing in a competitive field, the Italians are reported to have secured a first concession in a none-too-promising area of Persia on terms which will leave the Persian Government with three-quarters of the profits realised.

It is even supposed that the Italians may be on a losing proposition. But it is also expected that the deal will lead to a further concession in an area believed to be the richest of all in oil in the whole of Persia.

STRUGGLE AHEAD

The anti-Communist countries are not likely to appreciate the funny side of the situation, but it is nevertheless funny that the free play of competitive enterprise should be going forward to provide the finest future weapon for the Soviets in their campaign to undermine the Western position in the Arab world.

For, once Persia receives three-quarters of any profits from oil extracted from her soil, all the existing fifty-fifty agreements between oil-holding countries and the Western concerns in charge of extraction will become so many packs of trouble; and neither the Arabs nor the free enterprise concerns would be true to themselves if they did not struggle as long as at all possible to uphold their own ends.

□ ON BACK PAGE

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Against tests

3 The National Council for the Abolition of Nuclear Weapon Tests now has the support of another 24 distinguished sponsors for their non-party campaign against the continuing British tests. The following list of sponsors was issued on Wednesday:

John Arlott, Lord Boyd Orr, Benjamin Britten, Ritchie Calder, Jim Campbell (NUR), The Bishop of Chichester, and Count Michael de la Bedoyere.

Dame Edith Evans, E. M. Foster, Gerald Gardiner, QC, Dayan Dr. I. Grunfeld, Prof. Alexander Haddow, Barbara Hepworth, and Dr. Julian Huxley.

Rose Macaulay, Sir Compton Mackenzie, The Rt. Rev. George F. MacLeod, Denis Matthews, Henry Moore, Ben Nicholson, Sir Herbert Read, and Flora Robson.

Earl Russell, Dr. Donald Soper, Michael Tippett, Vicky, Prof. C. H. Waddington, and Barbara Wootton.

The sponsors urge all who are opposed to further tests to send their names and addresses to the Secretary of the Council at 29, Great James Street, London, W.C.1.

"The Government must be made aware of the full strength of public support for the National Council's Campaign," say the Bishop of Chichester, Earl Russell, Dr. MacLeod, Dr. Soper, Michael Tippett and a number of other sponsors in a letter to the Press.

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But now it has become the source of deep sorrow and apprehension, to myself as well as to everybody else

Since the destruction of Nagasaki and Hiroshima the atom has become a spectre threatening us with annihilation. We ourselves have exercised the phantom, it has served us faithfully for a while, but now it is insubordinate.

Would it not be better to have nothing to do with it? Or is it still in our power to tame it and to use it as our servant?

These are the questions which I wish to discuss and to try to illuminate: They are fundamental questions for the human race.

I cannot answer them, but I can express a few ideas, some of which the atom itself has taught us; we have to keep these ideas in our minds if we wish to master it.

In all of us

For the word "atom" does not stand here for the tiny particle that, when assembled in large numbers, exercises terrible forces, but for the science which has discovered this particle and its collective power.

And the word "man" not only stands for the rational being that has created atomic science and harnessed atomic power, but also for the man in the street who knows nothing of all that and who reads in his newspapers of a danger which he does not understand.

In fact, it is only a manner of speech to say that the atom has become dangerous, or that the atomic physicists have brought its danger into being. The source of the danger is in all of us, because it is the weakness and passion of ordinary human beings.

● ON PAGE TWO

BRITAIN and the H-BOMB

Stop the drift to race suicide

2.15 p.m. Assemble Hyde Park (Marble Arch)

2.30 p.m. March via Oxford St., Oxford Circus,

Regent St., Piccadilly Circus,

Haymarket, Trafalgar Sq.

Organised by the H-bomb Campaign Committee, 374, Gray's Inn Road, London, W.C.1

3 pm TRAFALGAR SQ.

Barbara Castle, MP

Anthony Greenwood, MP

Ian Mikardo, MP

Konni Zilliacus, MP, Dr. Donald Soper

MAX BORN: *the use of force must go*

● FROM PAGE ONE

Fatal dangers they certainly are: The human race has today the means of annihilating itself—either in a fit of complete lunacy, i.e., in a big war, by a brief fit of destruction, or by careless handling of atomic technology, through a slow process of poisoning and of deterioration in its genetic structure.

The tragic turn was the decision to use the new weapon by dropping two bombs on densely populated Japanese cities.

The justification for the horrible decision which is usually offered is that it speeded up the end of the war and saved the lives of thousands of soldiers, not only Americans but also Japanese.

Not mentioned are the hundreds of thousands of Japanese civilians—men, women and children—who were sacrificed. Or, if they are mentioned, it is said that their destruction was not essentially different from what all belligerents were doing in ordinary air attacks.

Atomic illusion

And, indeed, nobody can deny this. But can a big crime be justified by the statement that we are accustomed to committing many smaller crimes?

I am not afraid to use the word "crime," but I shall not call any single person a criminal.

What we are concerned with is collective guilt, the decay of our ethical consciousness, for which we are all to blame, myself included—though I have had nothing to do with the development of nuclear physics.

How little the essence of scientific knowledge has penetrated into men's consciousness was revealed by the period that followed the end of the war.

Many American politicians believed that the technical advantage of the West could be preserved by secrecy.

The effect of this was to hinder the progress of research on their own side and, through the ensuing witch-hunt, to bring about a serious danger to those civil liberties which are the pride of their country. Nothing could prevent the Russians from confirming a known fact of nature and from exploiting it technically.

The explosion of their first uranium bomb in 1949 broke the American monopoly, and when the development of the hydrogen bomb began, the Russians drew level with the West.

warfare, not much would be left of our civilisation.

The survivors of the bombs would suffer agonising death through radiation sickness; friend and enemy, belligerent and neutral, man, animal and plant.

The leading statesmen of the big atomic Powers are in the habit of declaring that a great war has become impossible. But, neither their own foreign offices nor the governments of smaller States take much notice of such declarations.

Old game

The old diplomatic game, the bargaining and quarrelling about small advantages, continues as if nothing had happened. The reluctance of the Great Powers to be involved in serious conflict is used by smaller nations for blackmail.

East and West are pursuing atomic armament because they distrust one another and are under the illusion that they can gain security by intimidation.

The word "war" is avoided, but warlike actions, the breaking of international law, and the application of brute force, are perpetrated under other names—as we have recently witnessed in Hungary and in Egypt.

Immensely expensive preparations are constantly being made for a war which must under no circumstances be allowed to come about.

Such is the crazy situation in which we find ourselves. It looks as if our civilisation were condemned to ruin by reason of its own structure.

The literature and philosophy of our time reflect this situation: I am thinking of the novels of Aldous Huxley and George Orwell, and of the writings of the existentialist philosophers.

There is no doubt that the human race is in an acute crisis. At the present time, fear alone enforces a precarious peace. However, that is an unstable state of affairs which ought to be replaced by something better.

Renounce force

We do not need to look far in order to find a more solid basis for the proper conduct of our affairs.

It is the principle which is common to all great religions and with which all moral philosophers agree; the principle

which would justify the risk of atomic war?

There are a great many politicians and journalists who reply to the warnings of the experts with catch-words such as "atomic hysteria" and "bomb defeatism."

Shortsighted

Such politicians and journalists are either shortsighted or fanatics, and therefore evil, or else they represent one of the numerous groups of people to whose advantage it is—or seems to be—that wars be prepared for, or even fought.

Such people are the industrialists who profit from the production of armaments; soldiers who like military life with its romantic tradition, and who prefer blind obedience to personal responsibility; officers, generals, admirals, and air marshals whose profession is the preparing and fighting of wars; and, lastly, physicists, chemists and engineers, who invent and manufacture new kinds of weapons.

It is impossible to stabilise the present state of precarious peace based on fear without giving these people other aims in life.

There is no general recipe for doing this. However, I am able to say a few words about the physicists, whose mentality is known to me.

None of them, of course, had the desire to destroy for the sake of fame, but they did wish to contribute to the defence of their own country and of its ideology. They regard as good what is beneficial to their country, just as all other citizens do.

But at the same time they are strongly conscious of a particular mission—and this leads me to a question of supreme importance which I have so far omitted from my consideration.

The discovery of nuclear energy is not only a threat, a danger, to the existence of mankind, but also the means of deep penetration into the secrets of Nature, and thereby of technical progress.

Another danger

It is, indeed, without exaggeration, the salvation of human civilisation from another creeping danger, namely, the exhaustion of the fossil fuels—coal and oil.

In spite of numerous wars, the number of human beings has increased tremendously during the last 150 years, in a roughly

I wish to quote a few words from the admirable address given by Niels Bohr to the Geneva meeting:

"It is the very difficulty of appreciating the traditions of other nations on the basis of one's own national tradition that requires that the relationship between cultures may rather be regarded as complementary."

Never in history

Free acknowledgement of being different, and replacement of enmity between peoples by the sense of their complementarity: this is the way in which a great abstract thinker urges reconciliation upon the nations before an audience of scientists from all parts of the world.

Amongst Christians, there should be no need for such abstract formulations. It should be sufficient to take the teaching of Christ seriously and to measure good and bad not with a national, but with a human gauge.

Never in history was this demand so pressing, never the punishment for refusing it so obvious.

These considerations have naturally led to powerful propaganda for the abolishment of nuclear weapons by international agreement. To be frank, I do not think much of these efforts.

For even if a war between Great Powers should break out and be conducted initially with conventional weapons—with increasing stress, no nation can be expected to renounce the use of any weapon it may see necessary for its salvation.

Total war

In fact, military leaders in the USA have declared they would not wait for extreme emergency, but that in case of attack, they would strike at once against the Eastern bloc with nuclear weapons.

I am convinced that the only way to avoid general destruction is the general renunciation of the use of force in political conflict, combined with progressive disarmament.

Instead of the propaganda for the prohibition of atomic weapons, I recommend a vigorous campaign of enlightenment about the nature of total war.

The beautiful idea of the hero who fights and dies for his country, his wife, and his

lowed the end of the war.
Many American politicians believed that the technical advantage of the West could be preserved by secrecy.

The effect of this was to hinder the progress of research on their own side and, through the ensuing witch-hunt, to bring about a serious danger to those civil liberties which are the pride of their country. Nothing could prevent the Russians from confirming a known fact of nature and from exploiting it technically.

The explosion of their first uranium bomb in 1949 broke the American monopoly, and when the development of the hydrogen bomb began, the Russians drew level with the West.

The hydrogen bomb is an absolutely devilish invention, and there was opposition to its manufacture in the USA.

The man who had directed the production of the first uranium bomb, Robert Oppenheimer, tried to resist the production of the hydrogen bomb, but without success. He was squeezed out of the Atomic Energy Commission of the American Government.

The principal promoter of the hydrogen bomb was Edward Teller, who not only developed its theory, but also agitated for its production.

Thus he has inscribed his name in the book of world history—whether on the debit or on the credit side the future will reveal.

Not wise

Both of these men, Oppenheimer and Teller, as well as Fermi and other participants in this work, including some of the Russian physicists, were once my collaborators in Göttingen long before all these events, at a time when pure science still existed.

It is satisfying to have had such clever and efficient pupils, but I wish they had shown less cleverness and more wisdom. I feel that I am to blame if all they learned from me were methods of research, and nothing else. Now their cleverness has precipitated the world into a desperate situation.

Both camps, East and West, have a sufficient number of bombs to destroy mutually all big cities and industrial centres with the help of aircraft and of guided and ballistic missiles.

Even the few experimental bombs which have been exploded for "research" purposes in remote corners of the earth have increased the radioactivity of the atmosphere significantly. After actual nuclear

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Renounce force

We do not need to look far in order to find a more solid basis for the proper conduct of our affairs.

It is the principle which is common to all great religions and with which all moral philosophers agree; the principle which in our own part of the world is taught by the doctrine of Christianity; the principle which Mahatma Gandhi had actually carried into practice, before our own eyes, in liberating his own country, India, from foreign domination.

It is the renunciation of force in the pursuit of political aims.

Fifty years ago, when I was young, this statement would have been regarded as utopian and foolish. Today I am able to express it without raising doubts as to my sanity.

It is very likely that tomorrow, not the pacifists, but the bellicose, will be regarded as fools, for the experiences of the last fifty years have left an impact on the minds of men.

Yet I feel unequal to the task of analysing and discussing this immense problem in all its aspects. What would I be able to add to the words of the great poets and prophets of our time?

I have in mind the address given by Albert Schweitzer when he received the Nobel Peace Prize; the declaration published by Albert Einstein, a short time before his death, together with Bertrand Russell and other scholars of many nations; the Mainau manifesto signed by 52 Nobel laureates, and many other similar declarations.

Today these voices no longer die away unheard for the man in the street—and perhaps also some of the great of this world—listen to them.

I am not blind to the difficulties of current policies, the conflict of interests and the clash of ideologies of races, and of religions.

But when in human history have such problems ever been solved by war? Usually, one war has only led to the next one. Is there any possible political aim

which I have so far omitted from my consideration?

The discovery of nuclear energy is not only a threat, a danger, to the existence of mankind, but also the means of deep penetration into the secrets of Nature, and thereby of technical progress.

Another danger

It is, indeed, without exaggeration, the salvation of human civilisation from another creeping danger, namely, the exhaustion of the fossil fuels—coal and oil.

In spite of numerous wars, the number of human beings has increased tremendously during the last 150 years, in a roughly exponential manner, with a doubling period of about 100 years.

Since the total store of fuel is limited, one needs no great gift for prophecy to predict the approach of a fuel crisis for civilised man.

How the long-term problem of the supply of food is to be solved is probably unknown even to the experts in nutrition; but as to the problem of the supply of energy, the discovery of methods for liberating nuclear energy has come just in time to avert a catastrophe.

The atomic physicists are conscious of their responsibility for this development, without which our civilisation would collapse miserably from lack of energy; and they are working devotedly in order to solve the scientific, technological, economic and social problems connected with the new source of energy.

It is as if fate were putting man to the test, saying to us: You want to live, to increase in number, and to improve your conditions—I am giving you the key to your future, but on one condition: that you give up your quarrels, suspicions, and brute force. If you refuse, woe betide you.

Will the warning be heeded? There are indications that it will. To begin with, amongst the people to whom I professionally belong, the feeling of social responsibility is growing.

In the United States and in Great Britain societies have been formed which oppose the misuse of science for war. The work on the peaceful applications of nuclear physics is being done by international co-operation.

In 1955, a big conference in Geneva was devoted to this purpose, and in 1956 official delegates from many countries met at New York in order to found an international organisation.

Total war

In fact, military leaders in the USA have declared they would not wait for extreme emergency, but that in case of attack, they would strike at once against the Eastern bloc with nuclear weapons.

I am convinced that the only way to avoid general destruction is the general renunciation of the use of force in political conflict, combined with progressive disarmament.

Instead of the propaganda for the prohibition of atomic weapons, I recommend a vigorous campaign of enlightenment about the nature of total war.

The beautiful idea of the hero who fights and dies for his country, his wife, and his child is out of date. Very likely, wife and child will be victims of the atomic bomb long before the soldier, who is better protected in his dug-out or tank; and the mother country, after being saved from aggression, will look like a landscape on the moon.

Now if we assume that in the future the Great Powers will avoid war, at first from fear, and later perhaps from better motives, and that they will prohibit or at least restrict warlike conflicts between minor nations, what kind of a peace will it be?

Hardly a comfortable peace, a paradise on earth, of which I, like many others, have often dreamed. Science and technology will then follow their tendency to rapid expansion unhampered, and in an exponential fashion, until saturation sets in.

But that does not necessarily imply an increase in wealth, still less of happiness, as long as the number of people increases at the same rate, and with it their need for food and energy.

Social problem

At this point the technical problems of the atom touch social problems, such as birth control and the just distribution of goods. There will be hard fighting about these problems: if not with deadly weapons, then with the more civilised weapons of the mind.

In the background there will always be the danger of self-destruction through the release of nuclear energy, as punishment for relapse into political barbarism.

We have just witnessed with horror such a relapse. For once, we have been saved by the reaction of public opinion throughout the world; public opinion—that means ourselves.

And every one of us can contribute to its becoming more powerful every day.

**FENNER BROCKWAY MP SPEAKS
 TO THE MAURITIUS LEAGUE**
**Help Mauritian
 economy**

By G. A. SHORT

AN appeal to the British Government to appoint experts to study the economy of Mauritius, and to advise on the possibility of establishing light industries there, was made recently by Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP.

He was speaking at a meeting in London of the recently-formed Mauritius League.

He said the island depended almost entirely on sugar, and if world prices fell, or there were a hurricane, the population would be destitute.

"Even as it is, when the sugar harvesting is over, there is unemployment among large numbers of people," he said.

There was no chance for skilled workers on the island, and he had been "overwhelmed" by letters from pensioners, describing the appalling conditions under which they lived.

Light Industries

Mr. Brockway said the industrial experts could make proposals by which the sugar economy could be supplemented "by light industries, at least, which would give balance to the economy, and would not leave Mauritius in the hazards of one industry, as it is at present."

He blamed the Government for the island's precarious economic position. "Side by side with the teaching of political democracy, Great Britain has followed an economic policy in the colony which makes the solution of its social and industrial problems almost impossible when that democracy is attained."

He felt that the advance of Mauritius to self-government would be easier because there was no British settler population in the island.

"It is a little humiliating. The areas in the Empire where progress meets most obstruction are areas where there are these settler populations . . . minority European, and mostly British populations, with whose interests the Government has identified itself."

Mr. Brockway, who was describing a tour he made of Mauritius two years ago, said he had a sense of freedom there which was

SHIFTING FORCES ON THE SOUTHERN FRONT

By Ralph Blackwood MA

US Race Relations Correspondent

IMPORTANT changes may be taking place on the race relations front in the US South.

After the 1954 Supreme Court decision outlawed school segregation, the White Citizens Councils led the South's firm stand against integration. The Councils were "respectable Ku Klux Klans."

They stood with the Klans for white supremacy and against integration, but the Councils, unlike the Klans, opposed violence.

The White Citizens Councils had a plan. They would block integration; they would fight it every step of the way in the courts; they would pass laws for segregation; and they would put economic and social pressures on Negroes and white liberals who favoured integration.

The Councils' leaders came mostly from the upper classes. Naturally they denounced Ku Klux Klan violence and frowned on the lower class Klans.

Four developments

With Southern leaders in politics, commerce and communications working for them, the Councils were able to capture and direct the energies of those who otherwise might have joined the Klans and mobbed and lynched Negroes and liberal whites. Consequently, the Councils grew and made big headlines while the Klans limped along with relatively few members.

However, recently four interesting developments have taken place:

1. There are indications that the formerly solid wall of white resistance to integration is cracking along class lines. Some important white community leaders are beginning to advocate compliance with the Supreme Court's integration order.
2. In the Press there has been less and less news about the White Citizens Councils.

Rights protected

THE only international jurisdiction over human rights which rises above the courts of national States is that in the system established under the Council of Europe, reports The International League

3. The Ku Klux Klans have surged forward. Their activities have increased. Klans recently have staged rallies, parades, cross burnings and floggings.

4. Negroes are gaining power. In some Southern cities they have enough votes to tip the balance of power from one party to the other. Also, Negroes are learning how to use their buying power.

Perhaps the educated Southern white leaders have begun to accept what is obvious to the well informed; the South will have to comply. Resistance is an expensive waste for all except a few politicians who stand to gain power by playing with the race issue.

Ku Klux Klan activity

If the educated leaders see no future in resistance, they will no longer provide the White Citizens Councils with leadership. People who were attracted to the Councils because they seemed to have a perfect solution will no longer be satisfied.

They may turn to the Klans whose violent and terroristic methods once worked in America and have not yet been proven ineffective under new conditions.

Thus the Councils are weakening, the Klans growing.

IF OUR ANALYSIS IS CORRECT, WE WILL SEE MORE AND MORE KU KLUX KLAN ACTIVITY; PARADES, CROSS BURNINGS, BEATINGS AND EVENTUALLY MURDERS.

Violence and terrorism will probably turn the upper class white leadership of the South more and more against the Klans and in favour of complying with the Supreme Court desegregation order.

Law and order

Members of the property-owning upper class depend on law and order. Without law and order, they can easily lose their power, prestige and comfortable economic circumstances. So, whatever their sentiments on integration, they are first of all in favour of law and order.

Klansmen are much like Hitler's Nazis or Mussolini's Black Shirts. They come from the disgruntled lower classes, and they resent the authority and privileges of the upper class leaders. So the Klans naturally pose a threat to men now in

September 20, 1957—PEACE NEWS—3
CAN WE KEEP IT UP?



WE are encouraged. Raising £3,500 from this fortnightly appeal to help subsidise Peace News is a tremendous task, one in which we ask all our readers to share.

In our previous appeal, a fortnight ago, we reported receiving £95. In the past

fortnight we have received £106—including a cheque for £50 from an enthusiastic Peace News seller in an aircraft-industry town.

Can we keep it up?

We need large sums now in this last quarter of 1957 for we must raise

£2173 by Dec. 31

If you can't write out a cheque for £20, £50 or £100, can you join with friends in planning now a Peace News fund-raising effort?

I want to be able to tell you in a fortnight's time that we need less than £2,000. That means collecting £174 in response to this appeal. Can you help us today?

THE EDITOR.

Contributions since Sept. 6: £106 15s. 9d.

Total since Jan. 1, 1957: £1,327 5s. 5d.

Anonymous contributions: gratefully acknowledged from: "J," £10; "Three Cheebles," £3; "Essex," 10s.; Anon, New Cross, 10s.

Please make cheques, etc., payable to Peace News Ltd., and address them to Lady Clare Annesley, Joint Treasurer, Peace News, 3 Blackstock Road, London, N.4.

NYERERE BANNED

THE leader of the Nationalist movement in Tanganyika, Julius Nyerere, a high-school teacher and often a petitioner at the UN, has recently been prevented by the British administration from addressing his followers at public meetings.

The International League for the Rights of Man took occasion to protest to the Trusteeship Council in a document officially circulated. It included also criticism of the arrest of nationalists on charges of sedition, an offence which the League maintains should not exist in a trust territory.

The British have made no explanation for the repression of this moderate nationalist movement.

economic policy in the colony which makes the solution of its social and industrial problems almost impossible when that democracy is attained."

He felt that the advance of Mauritius to self-government would be easier because there was no British settler population in the island.

"It is a little humiliating. The areas in the Empire where progress meets most obstruction are areas where there are these settler populations . . . minority European, and mostly British populations, with whose interests the Government has identified itself."

Mr. Brockway, who was describing a tour he made of Mauritius two years ago, said he had a sense of freedom there which was in contrast to Madagascar and Kenya. There was also a greater degree of co-operation and friendliness among the races than he had been led to believe existed.

Settler population

He was questioned about the advisability of Mauritius following Malta's lead, and becoming integrated with Britain.

He replied: "That is primarily a decision which must be reached by the people there. It is a possible solution, but I would not say it was the natural solution."

He asked the League to work not only for political advancement, but also for an increase in the standard of living of the people of the island . . . "so that they may have opportunities not only for material well-being, but opportunities of education and those more enduring features of life which really mean civilisation."

Mr. Peter Ibbotson, London correspondent of the Mauritius Times, also spoke. He described in detail the economic conditions on the island, and said that the Government was trying to establish a tea industry there. But the island was well enough stocked with raw materials to carry several other industries.

He, too, called for the establishment of light industries to boost the island's economy.

It was doubtful whether the output of sugar would increase over the next 50 years, he said, but there was no doubt that the population would grow.

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However, possibly four interesting developments have taken place:

1. There are indications that the formerly solid wall of white resistance to integration is cracking along class lines. Some important white community leaders are beginning to advocate compliance with the Supreme Court's integration order.
2. In the Press there has been less and less news about the White Citizens Councils.

Rights protected

THE only international jurisdiction over human rights which rises above the courts of national States is that in the system established under the Council of Europe, reports The International League for the Rights of Man. Fifteen of its 16 members have ratified the convention for protecting human rights; France alone has not done so.

Under the provision permitting individuals to petition the European Court of Human Rights, eight countries have granted that right to their citizens. Only seven ratifications were required to bring it into effect.

European Economic Co-operation No.1.

WHAT IS BENELUX?

Benelux members: Belgium, Luxembourg, Netherlands.

BENELUX is an attempt to secure full economic integration of the three countries concerned. They constitute a full customs union, i.e., there are no customs duties within the area and all three countries operate a common tariff on goods coming from outside.

There are no restrictions on man-power movements within the area, and very few on capital movements. Quantitative restrictions on trade in industrial goods have been abolished; there are still restrictions on trade in agricultural products between the countries concerned, but they are attempting to harmonise their agriculture policies so that these may be abolished.

All institutions and committees of the union are of a deliberating and advisory character only. Decisions are taken by the individual governments.

Next week: The European Coal and Steel Community.

These notes on European Economic Co-operation are taken from No. 2 of Documents on World Affairs (United World Education and Research Trust, 29 Great James St., London, W.C.1. 6d.)

South more and more against the Klans and in favour of complying with the Supreme Court desegregation order.

Law and order

Members of the property-owning upper class depend on law and order. Without law and order, they can easily lose their power, prestige and comfortable economic circumstances. So, whatever their sentiments on integration, they are first of all in favour of law and order.

Klansmen are much like Hitler's Nazis or Mussolini's Black Shirts. They come from the disgruntled lower classes, and they resent the authority and privileges of the upper class leaders. So the Klans naturally pose a threat to men now in power.

One could speculate on what would happen if a Hitler-like, power crazy genius should decide to use the Klans to capture government control.

It seems to follow that, if the Klans go on a rampage, the representatives of law and order will eventually try hard to destroy them.

Much also depends on the reaction of Negroes and white liberals to the Klans' increased attempts at a rule of terror.

Negroes are increasingly refusing to be terrorised.

school teacher and often a petitioner at the UN, has recently been prevented by the British administration from addressing his followers at public meetings.

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The British have made no explanation for the repression of this moderate nationalist movement.

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Keightley's dispatch

THE Keightley dispatch on the Suez operations does more than to praise the men who fought under his command, to express respect for Egyptian resistance, and to keep near-silence on the difficulties created by the home governments.

It also confirms how long in advance the action had been prepared and how untrue was the pretence that it had to be undertaken as a peace-saving intervention between Israel and Egypt.

Different commentators have picked out different parts of the dispatch as particularly important. For us, the most significant sentences are those in which Sir Charles Keightley says that Port Said would have suffered much less damage if Cairo had not insisted on further resistance and those in which he speaks of Egyptian "provocations," non-co-operation, and individual acts of fighting in civilian clothes.

Nothing could better illustrate the maddening one-sidedness of everything connected with war. Did not internal resistance, encouraged by every means of London propaganda, play a paramount part in the war against Hitler—and did not one of the first speeches which turned Winston Churchill into a national hero speak of fighting in all sorts of militarily unorthodox ways, at the time a German invasion of this country seemed possible?

UN on Hungary

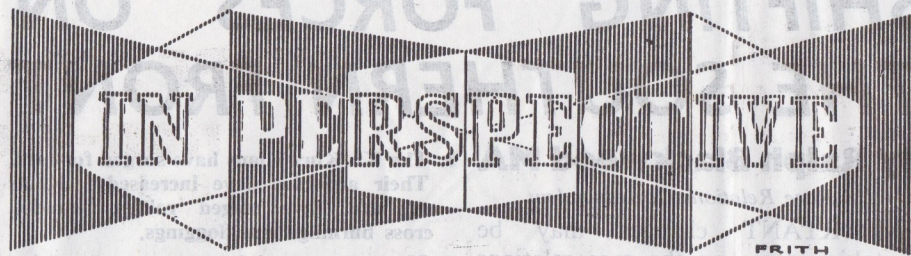
WHEN the UN General Assembly condemned the Russian action in Hungary last December the vote was 55 for condemnation, 8 against, and 13 abstentions.

Last week when the Assembly again considered the matter after receiving the report of its Special Committee of Enquiry, the vote was 60 for condemnation, 10 against, and 10 abstentions.

South Africa was, very appropriately, absent. The vote has lost some of its force because of the ambivalence of some of its supporters on questions of human freedom and interference in the affairs of other States.

The votes against the resolution were, of course, those of the Communist bloc. Yugoslavia, which abstained last December, last week voted with Russia.

There was, however, a certain pathetic significance in the speech of the Polish representative, who (with a wry acceptance of necessity arising from Poland's proximity to Russia's armed strength) voted against the resolution.



but an announcement that he will be welcome as a private person may indicate that Russia is willing that there shall be some negotiations if they can be undertaken without loss of face.

The whole world now knows that the position of the Hungarian people could only be made worse by armed intervention from the West. To risk world war would bring no help to the Hungarian people as human beings. There is, nevertheless, a moral obligation upon the peoples of the West to find some means of assisting them.

The primary impulse in the Russian suppression of Hungarian freedom was military: a Russian-dominated Hungary, like a Russian-dominated East Germany is held to be necessary for Russian defence. We have more than once suggested that the right way to help the Hungarian and other Russian-dominated subject-peoples is to seek their neutralisation, together with a neutralised Germany.

With the overwhelming electoral victory of Dr. Adenauer such a move is not now going to be easy.

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A PERMANENT WORLD FORCE?

ALTHOUGH ONE CAN BE SOMEWHAT ENCOURAGED by the account on page five by James Avery Joyce of the beginning and operation of the United Nations Emergency Force, we think it would be a mistake to hope that we can get peace by developing such a Force into a UN instrument of more extended powers.

THE WAY TO A PEACEFUL WORLD—IF EVER ACHIEVED—
WILL BE THROUGH ENDING THE POWER STRUGGLE.

Until then, the UN bodies will operate only where the Great Powers in the power struggle do not feel too seriously involved.

The power struggle will not be ended through the UN, but through the growth of co-operation by the Powers for peaceful development instead of co-operation to increase the armed might of each of the power blocs.

Therefore, while we agree with Mr. Joyce that there are encouraging aspects of the operations of the UN Emergency Force, we believe that if the Western Governments had examined the Russian proposal for co-operation among the Powers for aid, on a purely peaceful basis, to develop the Middle East, it would have been a much more hopeful contribution to peace.

★ ★
THE LIMITS IN THE DEVELOPMENT of UNEF are indicated by Mr. Joyce's explanation of UNEF being the world's first non-violent army. It is not because of the moral rightness or the greater effectiveness of non-violence, but because UNEF—

"if it were to attempt to copy the purposes or methods or the strategy of the violent armies it has so quietly and tactfully displaced, it would immediately crack up from within or be dissolved from without."

Aid without strings

WE would now urge that in advance of such a development the West should make offers of economic aid to the peoples of the East European countries. They are all facing acute economic difficulties, and this applies also to Russia.

There are two ways in which the West may view such a situation as this: one is to wait for the strain to grow greater and await an ultimate upheaval; the other is to come in and help despite the many aspects of the Government régimes that call for condemnation.

The first method is to look for future human advancement through the sufferings of living people (one of the crimes inherent in the Communist outlook), and it carries with it the danger that the threatened Governments may resort to desperate acts.

The second, if it were accepted, would certainly result in an immediate decrease in human suffering, and it might help to relieve the tensions which are such a heavy contributory factor in bringing about the suppression of freedom in East Europe.

In any case, the bringing of aid which was conspicuously free from military calculation would be a very refreshing political phenomenon. It is even possible that out of their present bewilderments the Governments would be astonished into peaceful relationships.

It was Stalin who prevented "Marshall Aid" from reaching the Eastern European countries. What about trying it under the Khrushchov régime?

Adenauer's absolute majority

ALTHOUGH the result of the elections in West Germany will hardly have come as a surprise, it will disappoint many who keenly desire a peaceful solution of European problems and the re-unification of Germany.

After a heavy poll the strength of the main Opposition party, the Social Democrats, is about the same as previously, the Christian Democrats having increased their majority at the expense of the smaller parties who were their allies in the previous Bundestag.

However, the SPD has retained over one-third of the seats and can prevent any drastic changes in the constitution.

Some reasons for the

vote was 60 for condemnation, 10 against and 10 abstentions.

South Africa was, very appropriately, absent. The vote has lost some of its force because of the ambivalence of some of its supporters on questions of human freedom and interference in the affairs of other States.

The votes against the resolution were, of course, those of the Communist bloc. Yugoslavia, which abstained last December, last week voted with Russia.

There was, however, a certain pathetic significance in the speech of the Polish representative, who (with a wry acceptance of necessity arising from Poland's proximity to Russia's armed strength) voted against the resolution.

He said that endorsement of the Report would do nothing to improve the international situation. But he also remarked that Warsaw had followed the tragedy of the Hungarian people with a great deal of sympathy.

The abstentions came from members of the Afro-Asian bloc and Finland. Among them was Ceylon, whose representative was one of the five members of the Special Committee of Enquiry, and had signed the Report.

His Government had disavowed him, however, and a drawing together into neutralism of the Afro-Asian peoples in consequence of Middle East happenings—doubtless helped by a mission sent to Ceylon by Mr. Kadar some weeks ago—had placed Ceylon's delegate, Mr. Gunewardine, in the unpleasant position (short of personal resignation) of having to refuse to vote for the Report for which he shared responsibility.

He sought to justify his abstention on the ground that the Special Committee's work was incomplete because the Hungarian Government had refused it permission to enter Hungary for its enquiries.

What is to follow?

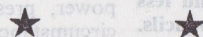
WHILE it is clear that the Russian action in Hungary calls for condemnation by world opinion, such condemnation must result in action if it is not merely to have the effect of helping on the depreciation in moral values.

The only action decided upon was the appointment of the retiring President of the Assembly, Prince Wan of Thailand, to seek Russian and Hungarian compliance with the views that had been expressed by the Assembly.

Russia's Quisling Government in Hungary has already made it clear that it will not accept Prince Wan as a UN representative,

The power struggle will not be ended through the UN, but through the growth of co-operation by the Powers for peaceful development instead of co-operation to increase the armed might of each of the power blocs.

Therefore, while we agree with Mr. Joyce that there are encouraging aspects of the operations of the UN Emergency Force, we believe that if the Western Governments had examined the Russian proposal for co-operation among the Powers for aid, on a purely peaceful basis, to develop the Middle East, it would have been a much more hopeful contribution to peace.



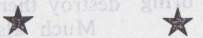
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“if it were to attempt to copy the purposes or methods or the strategy of the violent armies it has so quietly and tactfully displaced, it would immediately crack up from within or be dissolved from without.”

Here is the fallacy in the idea that there can be in UNEF the embryo of a UN international army.

The operations of UN are governed by its structure, and its structure is dictated by the facts of military power.

The need for unanimity among the five strongest Powers—permanent members of the Security Council—behind any major action is a recognition of the fact that if any one of these believed that a UN action vitally affected its own security or major interests, this could bring about a world war.

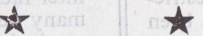


BECAUSE OF THE RECOGNITION that world war today means universal destruction, the major Powers are ready to accept limits in this conflict. This means, in general, that the major Powers now try to carry on their struggle at the expense of the smaller satellite States.

This explains why Russia was content to leave the Korean War to be fought out on Korean soil, and when China intervened, both the Chinese Government and the Powers allied with the US were equally ready to confine the struggle to the territory of Korea.

In other cases in which the interests of the major Powers are not too closely involved, they are willing that war between smaller States be prevented if it looks like spreading.

The war between Israel and Egypt (after Britain and France were safely removed) is an example. The limits on possible action in such cases was indicated by the fact that neither the Great Powers nor the States directly involved were permitted to contribute to UNEF.



OBVIOUSLY IN A PERMANENT UN FORCE it would be impossible to rely on the men in its ranks from the countries against which action was to be taken: the force would “immediately crack up from within.”

Equally clearly, wherever one of the two major power blocs felt its interests vitally threatened, such a Force would not be permitted to operate without there being great danger of extending the war: the Force would be “dissolved from without.”

The realistic approach to a peaceful world still lies in an unqualified acceptance of the implications of human brotherhood:

- The readiness to take the risk of disarming independently of what other Governments do, and
- An equal readiness to give economic aid to those who need it, independently of their military utility.

ALTHOUGH the result of the elections in West Germany will hardly have come as a surprise, it will disappoint many who keenly desire a peaceful solution of European problems and the re-unification of Germany.

After a heavy poll the strength of the main Opposition party, the Social Democrats, is about the same as previously, the Christian Democrats having increased their majority at the expense of the smaller parties who were their allies in the previous Bundestag.

However, the SPD has retained over one-third of the seats and can prevent any drastic changes in the constitution.

Some reasons for the success of the Christian Democrats are not hard to find.

The cult of personality: against the somewhat uninspiring figure of Herr Ollenhauer it had the colourful personality of Dr. Adenauer as leader.

The pressure of Catholicism: the CDU had all the support which instructions from Roman Catholic bishops and pulpits could give it.

The support of big business: not only did both America and Britain give Dr. Adenauer all the support they could, but he had behind him the financial resources of big business.

The desire to maintain the prosperity of West Germany may well have led many to vote for the CDU, who claimed not only that the present situation was due to it, but endeavoured to frighten the electorate by threats of economic disaster and a serious growth of Communism if the Social Democrats were successful. The election indicates that West Germany is definitely moving towards a two-party system.

It remains to be seen whether Dr. Adenauer, having won the election, will feel that he can take up a less rigid attitude towards the East German Government, or will allow his increased majority to harden his policy.

How long the 81-year-old Chancellor will enjoy the fruits of victory is another question.

What unfortunately seems clear is that the ending of conscription in West Germany, the withdrawal of the Federal Republic from NATO, and the reunification of Germany on the basis of a positive neutrality, which the victory of the Social Democrats might have made possible, must now be postponed, together with hopes of the easing of tension in Europe.

Syria, Sudan and British Guiana

By FENNER BROCKWAY, MP

Chairman of the Movement for Colonial Freedom

DURING the three weeks of my holiday and my visit to Greece, important developments have taken place in West Asia (which Europeans and Americans, thinking that the centre of the world lies in the Atlantic, call the Middle East), in Africa, and in the Caribbean territories (which are a synthesis of Asia and Africa). Let us try to estimate their significance.

IS SYRIA A THREAT?

The Americans are pouring arms into Jordan under fear that Russia is making Syria into a satellite. I find this a little hypocritical. Could not Turkey and Iraq and Lebanon be described equally as Western satellites? Have not British troops recently intervened in Muscat and Oman?

The Arab countries must laugh in their sleeves at the charges and counter-charges of America and Russia. Syria, despite Russian aid, reasserts her "positive neutralism" between the Western and Eastern blocs. Jordan says that Israel is a greater menace than Syria, and implies that America's arms are more likely to be used in Jerusalem than in Damascus.

The deepest emotion among Arabs is racial unity. In crises, this emotion will prove stronger than expedient associations with either West or East. Suez and Oman showed this.

The real danger point in West Asia is Israel. The origins of this conflict lie in contradictory promises given by Britain to Arabs and Jews during World War I. The Arabs were promised that the territory of the Ottoman Empire should be theirs. The Jews were promised Palestine. Both promises were quite unprincipled wartime bribes.

I was never a Zionist, but I wish the Arab peoples could rid their minds of the Israel obsession. The Israel State is now a fact, and it could be a beneficial influence for the social well-being of the whole of West Asia. It has shown how the desert can be made fruitful soil; it has developed industry; it has established democracy; it has given an example of socialist and co-operative equality.

I should like to see Israel part of a West Asian Federation of nations. There is some

Lancashire's textile industry at a cut-throat price.

Sudan, which has always sold to Lancashire, is left with its record harvest on its hands.

American cotton is of much lower quality than Sudanese, but Lancashire, faced by competition from Japan, India and Hong Kong, must buy cheaply. Unless Sayed Khalil can reach an agreement with British Ministers this week, he will have to accept an offer from Russia to exchange Sudan's cotton for machinery. Then no doubt we shall be told that Russia is dangerously penetrating Sudan!

The cotton industry is an example of the competitive chaos of the world economy. Because standards of life and labour costs are lower in the East, Lancashire's trade is depressed. Because America has superabundance of cotton, she brings depression to the peasants of Sudan.

The solution lies in lifting the standards of life of the workers in the East and in giving security to the cotton growers of Sudan and other countries by long-term agreements.

The Labour Government in Britain entered into such agreements with Colonial and Commonwealth countries. Our Tory Government has ended them because of its belief in capitalist "free enterprise." The chaos in cotton illustrates the need for international socialist planning.

GUIANA UNDER JAGAN

NOW that Dr. Cheddi Jagan is back as Chief Minister in British Guiana, how will he act?

The British Government suspended the Constitution because he was alleged to be conspiring to set up a Communist dictatorship. During the period of suspension, the British authorities did their utmost to undermine his influence by restricting his freedom of movement, by encouraging more moderate political elements, and by introducing reforms which it was hoped would alleviate discontent. And, at the end of it all, although his Progressive Peoples Party was disastrously split, Jagan won the first election under a modified Constitution by a larger majority than ever!

The Governor has acted wisely. He has nominated nine members friendly to Dr. Jagan to the Legislative Council and the

UNEF: Triumph of non-violence

By James Avery Joyce

(Author of "Revolution on East River" published London and New York last March.)

IN bidding farewell to the home-returning Danish contingent, General E. L. M. Burns, as their Commander, recalled that United Nations Emergency Force members had been given the title "soldiers of peace" by many well-wishers. He added: "I think that is something to be proud of."

As this claim has been made by all the generals through all the centuries on behalf of all the nations, without exception, it might be instructive to look behind the label this time and ask exactly what General Burns meant.

For the most striking thing about this Commander was that he was actually addressing the men in front of him and not some government behind him—for there was no government behind him, only the human race.

The departing Danes, wearing the now-familiar UN blue helmets, were neatly drawn up in two companies in front of the Danish-Norwegian battalion headquarters building, which was decorated with the national flags of the two contingents on either side of the United Nations flag.

Incredible speed

"We are not a great military force, but we are a symbol of moral force," continued Burns. "Perhaps history will cite our Force as the first effective use of the armed forces of many nations to implement the principle of non-aggression, to which all nations members of the United Nations are bound by their adherence to the Charter. If this sort of peace-keeping use of armed force continues, grows and becomes more effective, then the whole human race will benefit."

Thus, momentarily, the curtain falls on Act I of one of the most dramatic and—to some observers—surprising turning points in human affairs. We can therefore pause to review the longer-term significance of the Peace of Gaza in the light of what has actually happened.

If truth be stranger than fiction, then here, indeed, has a radically novel kind of military history been made—almost overnight.

ground details of how the Big Lie, which has hitherto prevailed in international dealings, has been silenced for once, as General Burns told his little band of peace-makers, by the "symbol of moral force."

If Burns is right, then indeed will "the whole human race benefit." Not only newspapers, but in Washington, Ottawa, London, and other national capitals, Bills and resolutions are being presented to parliaments begging them, in effect, to induce the United Nations to take the "Emergency" out of "UNEF" and replace it by "Peace."

Nothing in this world succeeds like success. But although success sometimes comes in a flash, when least expected, it is usually preceded by much trial and error.

"Total impotence"

From the day in 1947, when the Big Five reached a stalemate on the Charter provision for setting up an International Police Force, the West dreamed of some permanent force which would function under the UN flag.

The closest to reality that the dream attained was the Western war-coalition in Korea, under the UN flag, it is true, but ordered by the authority of the Security Council in circumstances described by General Carlos P. Romulo in the following characteristically blunt terms: "The Security Council was saved from total impotence only by the narrowest of accidents." Last November nothing prevented the Council's "total impotence."

When, in 1950, the General Assembly assumed a new authority under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, every attempt to persuade the delegates to set up a UN Command failed. In fact, the weighty and

★ ON BACK PAGE

NEW EPWORTH BOOKS

God's Business

Christian Opinion on some Economic Problems

By Edward Rogers MA BD

Arabs and Jews during World War I. The Arabs were promised that the territory of the Ottoman Empire should be theirs. The Jews were promised Palestine. Both promises were quite unprincipled wartime bribes.

I was never a Zionist, but I wish the Arab peoples could rid their minds of the Israel obsession. The Israel State is now a fact, and it could be a beneficial influence for the social well-being of the whole of West Asia. It has shown how the desert can be made fruitful soil; it has developed industry; it has established democracy; it has given an example of socialist and co-operative equality.

I should like to see Israel part of a West Asian Federation of nations. There is some evidence that among Arabs, particularly in Egypt, a more realistic approach to the Israel problem is emerging.

The Arab countries should not overlook the growing influence which Israel's examples in agriculture and economic planning are having in Asia and Africa. They are among the best patterns in the world for undeveloped countries.

Burma is enthusiastically accepting Israeli assistance in irrigation, farming and co-operative industry, and delegations from Ghana, including three Cabinet Ministers and youth leaders, are now in Israel excitedly learning all they can about its brigades of volunteers who turn desert and swamp into rich earth.

Israel is breaking the barrier of Asian-African suspicion by its example of co-operative living. Who will take the first step to break the barrier of Arab-Israel enmity?

SUDAN'S COTTON CRISIS

THE best economic venture in all Africa is in danger. The Gezira scheme in the Sudan, where 1,000,000 acres are co-operatively farmed and where in twenty years living standards, education, housing and health have been revolutionised, is now facing financial disaster. Sudan's Prime Minister, Sayed Abdullah Khalil, has been on a mission of rescue to London this week.

I knew Sayed Khalil when his party, Umma, was struggling against Britain and Egypt to win independence for Sudan. It was a great joy to meet him and to hear of the progress of the Gezira. Another million acres of arid land are being converted to fertility. This year's cotton crop is the richest and largest ever yielded.

Then why the threat of financial disaster?

Because America has overproduced cotton and has sold its surplus stock to

back as Chief Minister in British Guiana, how will he act?

The British Government suspended the Constitution because he was alleged to be conspiring to set up a Communist dictatorship. During the period of suspension, the British authorities did their utmost to undermine his influence by restricting his freedom of movement, by encouraging more moderate political elements, and by introducing reforms which it was hoped would alleviate discontent. And, at the end of it all, although his Progressive Peoples Party was disastrously split, Jagan won the first election under a modified Constitution by a larger majority than ever!

The Governor has acted wisely. He has nominated nine members friendly to Dr. Jagan to the Legislative Council and the Chief Minister has a majority of five to four in the Executive Council. He should therefore be able to carry through the reforms he desires.

Why was Dr. Jagan's first administration suppressed by the British Government? What was the difference between it and Dr. Nkrumah's accepted administration in Ghana before independence? Both Parties were returned to transform limited self-government into full self-government. Dr. Nkrumah has done it. Dr. Jagan has to begin again.

I think the contrast is due to the fact that Nkrumah decided to get the best out of an unsatisfactory Constitution, to use it as a stepping-stone to the Constitution he wanted. Jagan was more in the mood to break the Constitution and to use popular support to get self-government.

Nkrumah had a greater consciousness of power. He not only had an overwhelming political majority. Economic power was African; it lay with the African cocoa-growers.

Jagan, on the other hand, although Chief Minister, felt he was a prisoner. He believed the British officials were against him. He knew that economic power rested with the British monopoly which owned not only the sugar plantations but almost everything else! The Indian and African population were a subject class, their labourers. Jagan remained a frustrated rebel.

Dr. Jagan went to Ghana for the independence celebrations. My guess is that he has decided to give the Nkrumah method a chance. It would seem, also, that the British authorities have had second thoughts.

If this proves to be true, British Guiana, perhaps as part of the Caribbean Federation of West Indian islands, should within a few years follow Ghana to independence.

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by many nations to implement the principle of non-aggression, to which all nations members of the United Nations are bound by their adherence to the Charter. If this sort of peace-keeping use of armed force continues, grows and becomes more effective, then the whole human race will benefit."

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If truth be stranger than fiction, then here, indeed, has a radically novel kind of military history been made—almost overnight.

First, was the element of incredible speed: something like an occupation army—assembled as the nursery rhyme says: "Where did you come from, baby dear? Out of everywhere into here"—began to take charge of a frightening situation, which had all the beginnings of a world war, virtually before the war began—within nine days of mobilisation.

(The masterstroke of those blue helmets, attributed to Ralph Bunche, took 48 hours of earth-wide telephoning from conception to the moment the paint began to dry, thus distinguishing humanity's peace army from all other armies of all time.)

"Moral force"

Second: neither side was "defeated," or even had to cede an inch of territory; but both sides were able to pluck the fruits of "victory" (if peace is what victory is supposed to be about), without either side "losing."

Third: all the invaders could retreat in a dignified way to their home bases without being shot in the back, thus depriving their governments of the hoary excuse of "military necessity" compelling them to stay for keeps.

Fourth, and perhaps most important: the very force which pushed the aggressors back is not really a "force" at all. In fact, it is the world's first non-violent army.

If it were to attempt to copy the purposes or methods or the strategy of the violent armies it has so quietly and tactfully replaced in the field, it would immediately crack up from within or be dissolved from without.

In case this bald summary of what has actually happened during the last six months may be too startlingly new to the average reader, who may have been unwittingly brainwashed by some of the potent "isms" which pervade the intellectual atmosphere of our times, let us fill in some of the back-

November nothing prevented the Council's "total impotence."

When, in 1950, the General Assembly assumed a new authority under the "Uniting for Peace" resolution, every attempt to persuade the delegates to set up a UN Command failed. In fact, the weighty and

★ ON BACK PAGE

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Pentagon's flattery

THE Pentagon (the U.S. War Department) has paid American pacifists the sincerest form of flattery by publishing a leaflet for potential military conscripts with the same title as a Fellowship of Reconciliation leaflet addressed to the same group: "It's your choice."

Reporting this, the American magazine Fellowship, comments:

"The Pentagon job, neatly done in three colours, offers five choices (Army, Navy, Air Force, Marines, Coast Guard) or two (be drafted or volunteer), depending on how you read it."

"The FOR leaflet, in a modest two colours, offers only two choices: You can be drafted for war, or you can volunteer for peace."

STRANGE BELIEF

From "The Nation," New York, Aug. 3

IT is the strange belief of a handful of pacifists in New York City that the atom bomb and its continued testing and development are insane and immoral. Since this handful contains a few of the souls left among us who connect their beliefs with the action of their daily lives, they have for the past three years refused to participate in the annual Civil Defence mock atom-bomb air raid drill in New York. Our society's courts have sentenced these people to prison terms, last year of five days and this year of thirty days.

The first year this took place, one of the magistrates called the pacifists "murderers." This year Magistrate Walter Bayer called them "a bunch of individuals who breathe contempt of the law." Dorothy Day, one of those individuals, wrote in 1955 of the time of the first action that: "We make this demonstration not only to voice our opposition to war, not only to refuse to participate in psychological warfare, which this air raid drill is, but also as an act of public penance for having been the first people in the world to drop the atom bomb, to make the hydrogen bomb."

It is a terrifying and inescapable comment on our society that we deal with the author of those lines by placing her in the Women's House of Detention for a prison term. On the outside, we sane and lawful citizens endorse by our silence the making of bigger and better bombs that can destroy a civilisation."

Special postal offer

Letters to the Editor

A "Peace" Congress

THE National Press reporting the Trades Union Congress at Blackpool gave most coverage to the debates on what may be called the "Bread and Butter" topics: wages, pensions and the like. Each is important, but overshadowing all these is the fearful prospect of a nuclear war.

It is therefore greatly encouraging when the TUC unanimously passes a resolution calling for the abolishing of nuclear weapons and the banning of their testing and manufacture. Not one voice was raised against the resolution; it was a clearly worded composite resolution, one that the Labour Party Conference delegates will not ignore.

Nevertheless, the task of those in the Trade Union and Labour Movement is far from over. In my view this resolution came from emotional thinking of the dangers of radiation and the like, and not from a conscious desire to abolish war. Unfortunately this thinking is held by many leaders in the Labour Movement. They argue to abolish conscription by having a well-paid professional army, and they still feel the need for Civil Defence. It is this sort of thinking that we must deal with. The resolution of the TUC helps us in this direction.

The National Council of Labour comprises representatives of the Co-op, Trade Union General Council and the National Executive Committee of the Labour Party. It is this body that organised the great rallies against the Suez War with such success. The need is for the TUC General Council, in the light of the decision taken at Congress, to request that the National Council of Labour organise an autumn campaign with the demand contained in the TUC resolution as the theme.

All must play their part in convincing their Trade Union, Co-op, Party and Constituency Labour Parties of the necessity of such a campaign. We know that the Labour Party is very luke-warm on this plan, but they could not ignore a flood of resolutions asking for a campaign. We would also hope that many members of the Parliamentary Labour Party would back the demand of the Constituency Parties.

Looking back at the Blackpool TUC, I must stress how encouraging it is for those who have worked hard with the Labour Movement for peace; it shows that such efforts do not go unrewarded.—TERENCE COMERFORD, Secretary, Labour Peace

oppressor could use your argument as justification for what he does, since the vast majority of his critics are not likely to face his "difficulties."

The behaviour of the Government of Ghana is one more proof of the corruption inherent in power. The melancholy history of the struggle for power throughout the ages has been filled with transformations of the persecuted into the persecutors. Is it not time that pacifists gave serious consideration to the case against participation in politics?—S. E. PARKER, 12, Park Drive, London, N.W.11.

A Hull anniversary

TO mark the Twenty-first Anniversary of the opening of the first Peace Centre in Hull, the Hull Group of the Peace Pledge Union is holding a special get-together at No. 6, Bond Street, Hull, on Saturday, October 26, at 3 p.m.

Will anyone reading this letter who may not be in touch with the Group now but who was with us in those early years 1936 to 1939, accept this invitation to be present, if at all possible.

If unable to be present, the Hull Group would like to have their present address. The above occasion we hope will be a rededication to a great cause.—ALBERT LEAPER, Hon. Secretary Hull Group, 22 Barrington Avenue, Hull.

Interview with Khrushchov

IN your reports of interviews with Russian leaders it so often seems that the interviewers fail to make the most obvious points. When, for instance, Khrushchov exhorted Dr. Jerome Davis and his countrymen to have confidence in their dealings with the USSR, the immediate reply should surely have been: "What in?" A system and its advocates both firmly based on the Leninist doctrine that:

"We repudiate all morality which proceeds from... ideas which are outside class conceptions. In our opinion morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of the class war; everything is moral which is necessary for the annihilation of the old, exploiting social order, and for the uniting of the proletariat."

It is precisely because of this lack of any universal ethical basis for negotiation that confidence must always be lacking between the morally divided East and West.—PETER DE MORNAY, Kildare, Sydney Gardens, Bath, Somerset.

Dolci and Gandhi

H-tests: Clergy must speak out

THE time has come for the moral leadership of our nation—the clergy—to speak out, calling upon our national leaders and the leaders of the other nations of the world to bring to a halt the further testing of nuclear weapons." So stated 228 California clergymen in circulating an "Appeal to the Leaders of Nations," reports Dr. Homer Jack from New York.

The Appeal includes these sentences: "We must reject any philosophy which would imply that the life of a single child in the most obscure family on earth is less precious in the sight of God because it is 'statistically insignificant.' As trustees of the future we deeply believe that for us to cause any degradation of the life which God has given us to pass on is to sin against his creation."

Key to Peace

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demonstration, not only to voice opposition to war, not only to refuse to participate in psychological warfare, which this air raid drill is, but also as an act of public penance for having been the first people in the world to drop the atom bomb, to make the hydrogen bomb."

It is a terrifying and inescapable comment on our society that we deal with the author of those lines by placing her in the Women's House of Detention for a prison term. On the outside, we sane and lawful citizens endorse by our silence the making of bigger and better bombs that can destroy a civilisation."

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campaign against the demand contained in the TUC resolution as the theme.

All must play their part in convincing their Trade Union, Co-op. Party and Constituency Labour Parties of the necessity of such a campaign. We know that the Labour Party is very luke-warm on this plan, but they could not ignore a flood of resolutions asking for a campaign. We would also hope that many members of the Parliamentary Labour Party would back the demand of the Constituency Parties.

Looking back at the Blackpool TUC, I must stress how encouraging it is for those who have worked hard with the Labour Movement for peace; it shows that such efforts do not go unrewarded.—TERENCE COMERFORD, Secretary, Labour Peace Fellowship, 46, Robin Hood Way, Greenford, Middlesex.

Authorised Version corrected

AT the S.W. Tribunal for Conscientious Objectors on September 3, six young men whose ages ranged from 18 to 23 were before Judge E. H. C. Wethered, O.B.E. All based their objections on religious grounds principally and all secured conditional registration as COs.

Judge Wethered told Richard Savage, a member of the Church of England, who had only just left Dartington School, that there never was a commandment "Thou shalt not kill." It was "Thou shalt not murder."

Richard Savage was accorded agriculture, horticulture, forestry, land-drainage, hospital, ambulance or other humanitarian conditions.

A Jehovah's Witness who asked for unconditional exemption was told that his attitude was "entirely indefensible."—MARGARETEL BROOKS, 24 West Street, Oldham Common, Bristol.

Crucial stage in Ghana

I AM surprised at the qualified criticism you make of the recent actions of the Nkrumah Government. It is surely a *sine qua non* of belief in the freedom of speech to firmly oppose any attack upon it wherever that attack may occur. To argue that we should not be too critical because we "have not to face their difficulties" can be very dangerous. We do not have to face the "difficulties" of a concentration camp guard or an army general, but we do not accept this fact as being sufficient grounds for being "chary" in our opposition to their actions. Any tyrant or

with the USSR, the immediate reply should surely have been: "What in?" A system and its advocates both firmly based on the Leninist doctrine that:

"We repudiate all morality which proceeds from... ideas which are outside class conceptions. In our opinion morality is entirely subordinate to the interests of the class war; everything is moral which is necessary for the annihilation of the old, exploiting social order, and for the uniting of the proletariat." ? It is precisely because of this lack of any universal ethical basis for negotiation that confidence must always be lacking between the morally divided East and West.—PETER DE MORNAY, Kildare, Sydney Gardens, Bath, Somerset.

Dolci and Gandhi

IN the interesting article by Johan Galtung which you published on Sept. 6, the statement that Dolci had only an intuitive knowledge of the principles of Gandhi seems to me inexact. The friendship between Aldo Capitini, a pacifist who specialised in the study of the teachings of Gandhi and Dolci gave the latter an opportunity to know—and to know very well, it appeared to me when I had the privilege of talking with him about them—the Gandhian principles of non-violent action.—JACQUES SAVARY, 55 Rue Lacépède, Paris 5, France.

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Diary

As this is a free service we reserve the right to select for publication notices sent in. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

1. Send notices to arrive not later than Mon. a.m.
2. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address).

Saturday, September 21
EPSOM: 3.45 p.m. 3 St. Martin's Avenue. Poster Parade to meeting in Rosebery Park (Speakers: Sybil Morrison, Stuart Morris). 5.30 p.m. tea at Methodist Church Hall, Ashley Road. 7.0 p.m. public meeting "Peace Is Possible." (Speakers: Donald Chessell, Stuart Morris, Sybil Morrison, Minnie Pallister; Chairman: James L. Henderson). Epsom and District Peace Fellowship.

GLOUCESTER: 3 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., PPU Western Area AGM, Rally and Auction. Details: Roy Barnes, 4 Grange Drive, Bridgwater.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; STOP THE TESTS NOW! Speaker: Ivor Montague. Questions welcomed. Sketch by Unity Theatre. Refreshments. Admission 6d. Manchester Peace Committee.

PETERBOROUGH: 3 p.m.; St. Mary's Hall. Jumble Sale in aid of Fellowship Party. Goods and helpers welcomed at hall or 200 Eastfield Rd.

Sunday, September 22
LONDON: 3.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Antony Bates, "Word from the Sun."
TRAFALGAR SQUARE: 3 p.m.; "Britain and the H-bomb." Speakers: Barbara Castle, MP, Anthony Greenwood, MP, Ian Mikardo, MP, Konni Zilliacus, MP, and Dr. Donald Soper.

Tuesday, September 24
BRIGHTON: 7.30 p.m.; at 25 Vernon Terr., Seven Dials. "Work Camps and Help for the Refugees in Austria." Speaker: Francis Tonks. PPU.

EAST SHEEN: 8 p.m.; Vernon Hall, Vernon Rd. Speaker: Ernest Champness. "The Oil Industry." Members and friends welcome. PPU.

LONDON: 7.30 p.m.; To introduce Myrtle Solomon, PPU part-time organiser for the London area, Dick Sheppard House. All welcome.

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; at 77 Derbyshire Lane, Streteford. Meeting of Manchester Central PPU Group.

Wednesday, September 25
LONDON: 6.30 p.m.; Peace Forum at Friends Ho., Euston Rd., London, N.W.1.

Thursday, September 26
HAMPSTEAD: 8 p.m.; at Friends Mtg. Ho., 120 Heath St. Gwen Catchpool will talk about the biography of her husband, Corder Catchpool, written by William Hughes and entitled "Indomitable Friend." PPU.

LANCASTER: 7.30 p.m.; Public Meeting at Friends Mtg. Ho., Meeting House Lane. Speaker: Percy Bartlett on "Unarmed Defence."

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Group Discussion, PPU Friends Mtg. Ho., E.10 and E.11 Group.

LIVERPOOL: 7.30 p.m.; Merseyside Hydrogen Bomb Protest Committee. General Meeting. Supporters welcome.

Saturday, September 28
CHATHAM: 2.30 p.m.; Unitarian Church, Hammon Hill. S.E. Area Meeting. Public Meeting, 7 p.m., Paddock Restaurant. Speaker: Minnie Pallister. "Is Peace Possible?" Medway Towns PPU Group. Details: Inge Hyde, 28 Horsted Way, Rochester.

LONDON, N.5: at Steenoven Ho., 16 Aberdeen Rd., Highbury. "Day of Prayer for Peace." Chapel open from 10 a.m. to 8 p.m. Refreshments available, 4 p.m.; Public Meeting. "Czechoslovakia Today." Speaker: Sybil Hodson. Questions and discussion. All welcome.

RUGBY: 7 p.m.; Brotherhood Ho. Public Forum on International Affairs. Panel: Sybil Morrison, H. H. Davies, Wallace Hancock, Eric Shafer. Chairman: Raymond Rowse. PPU.

Sunday, September 29
LONDON: 4 p.m.; Movement for a Pacifist Church of Christ. Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., London, W.C.1. Refreshments.

SANDERSTEAD: 3 p.m.; at 19 Limpfield Rd. "International Peacemaking." Speaker: Arlo Tatum. PPU, Surrey Area.

Wednesday, October 2



Southend Peace Council's float which was entered for the Southend Carnival as reported in last week's Peace News. Front view—war; rear view—peace.

Police and UN Forces

IN "The Arm of the Law" (PN Pamphlet, 6d.), Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the Peace Pledge Union, discusses the use of force by the United Nations.

The idea of an international police force controlled by the United Nations keeping order wherever trouble is likely to break out in the world is an attractive one to some people. That is because it is envisaged in the terms of the policemen which are so familiar in Britain—the arm of the law which detains the wrongdoer, but can neither judge nor punish.

This sort of police force, as Stuart Morris shows, can only operate where there is a general acceptance of law and support for its processes by the society in which it functions. The so-called "police States" demonstrate the rôle of the police in a society where they do not represent the moral authority and conscience of the community.

The conditions necessary for the creation of a British-style police force to establish and maintain the rule of law among nations do not exist, and the numerous plans for "organising peace" have all involved very different sorts of forces. After summaris-

ing, "to be shot at rather than to shoot."

In neither of the two later cases, however, where Britain and France tried to impose their own solution on the Suez problem and where Russia intervened in Hungary, was the United Nations willing to do more than express a moral judgment and to rely on the effect of world opinion to produce the desired result.

"The United Nations stands at the parting of the ways," says Stuart Morris, "and a decision must be taken as to whether it is going to continue, even theoretically, to rely on violence either limited or unlimited. The alternative is for the United Nations deliberately to do what many nations have at least on paper done in the Locarno Agreement, and to give effect to the Atlantic Declaration and its own Charter by renouncing the use or threat of force."

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Bomb Committee. General Meeting. Supporters welcome.

Saturday, September 28
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Wednesday, October 2
BRISTOL: LOCAL TRIBUNAL for COs. Board Room, Gaunts Ho., Denmark St., Bristol 1. 2 p.m. **ST. LEONARDS ON SEA:** 7 p.m.; 78a Norman Rd. Monthly Meeting. Speaker: Arlo Tatum. "International Peacemaking." Chairman: Kenneth Wray. PPU.

Friday, October 4
HULL: 8.15 p.m.; at 6 Bond St. Irene Jacoby on "My Visit to Russia." All welcome. PPU.

Sunday, October 13
LONDON: 3.30 p.m.; Friends International Centre, 32 Tavistock Sq., Euston, London, W.C.1. Pacifist Universalist Service. Discourse by Donald Groom. "Bhoddan."

Thursday, October 17
ALTON: 7.30 p.m.; 32 Tower St. "Non-violence in the Bible." by John D. White. Alton PPU.

Saturday, October 26
HULL: 3 p.m.; at 6 Bond St. Twenty-first Anniversary of the First Peace Centre in Hull. Light Refreshments and talk of yesterday and tomorrow. Early pioneers specially invited. PPU.

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LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.; Pier Head. Open-air meeting of Liverpool and District Peace Boaro.

SUNDAYS

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; at Queen's Park Gates. PPU Meeting. Open-air.

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LONDON: Weekend Workcamps, cleaning and redecorating the homes of old-age pensioners. IVSP, 72 Oakley Sq., London, N.W.1.

MONDAYS

SHIPLEY: 7.30 p.m.; PPU, Labour Party Rooms, Westgate, Shipley.

TUESDAYS

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Blitz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

WEDNESDAYS

KIDBROOKE: 8 p.m.; 141 Woolacombe Rd. Talks, plays, discussion, music, radio, etc. Fellowship Party.

THURSDAYS

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Corner of Blythswood Street and Sauchiehall Street. Open-air Meeting. Glasgow H-bomb Committee.

LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Road. E.10 and E.11 Group. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.20-1.40 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen Sq., Southampton Row. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by Clergy and laymen of different denominations.

FRIDAYS

BIRMINGHAM: 5 p.m. onwards; Bull Street Meeting House (outside) Peace News Sefting.

of a British-style police force to establish and maintain the rule of law among nations do not exist, and the numerous plans for "organising peace" have all involved very different sorts of forces. After summaris-



ing the record and the position as it has developed, particularly within the United Nations, the author deals with the alternatives proposed at the outbreak of hostilities between Egypt and Israel last year.

They were the unarmed force of 10,000 men to occupy the strip between the Arab States and Israel forming a human barrier between the contestants, suggested by Henry Osborne, MP, and the proposal by Canada that led to the establishment of the United Nations Emergency Force "to secure and supervise the cessation of hostilities" between the two nations. This, although armed, was not to carry out military operations, and was, as the Secretary-General put

NOTEBOOK

Cyprus appeal

THOUSANDS of signatures collected in the London area were attached to an appeal asking for an enquiry into alleged brutalities in Cyprus prison camps handed to the Colonial Secretary recently.

The petition was organised by the London Area Council of the Movement for Colonial Freedom.

Happy Birthday!

BIRTHDAY greetings to Harold Bing, Chairman of the War Resisters' International, who is 60 today.

An old photograph I came across recently showed Harold Bing leading a march of young war resisters in the late twenties—evidence, if any were needed, that he has given most of his adult life to the work of the International.

There will no doubt be many greetings sent to him from Scandinavia, where sixtieth birthdays always seem to come in for much more recognition than in Britain; he has friends all over the world, however, who will want to take this opportunity of wishing him every happiness and many more years as Chairman of the WRI.

The Editor

United Nations stands at the parting of the ways," says Stuart Morris, "and a decision must be taken as to whether it is going to continue, even theoretically, to rely on violence either limited or unlimited. The alternative is for the United Nations deliberately to do what many nations have at least on paper done in the Locarno Agreement, and to give effect to the Atlantic Declaration and its own Charter by renouncing the use or threat of force."

TRD.

THE PROBLEM OF 15,000,000 people

Stephen Siteman reviews

The Refugee and the World Community, by John G. Stoessinger, University of Minnesota Press, \$4.50.

IN 1957, forty years after the refugees—in the modern and more irrevocable sense of the word—first appeared and after varied attempts to deal with them, there are still, at a conservative estimate, some 15,000,000 refugees in the world. Most of these are in India and Korea, but a hard core of about a half-million from Fascist and Communist totalitarianisms is in European camps.

John G. Stoessinger, himself a refugee from both Communism and Fascism, and now a professor of Government at Babson Institute in Massachusetts, has compiled a kind of history of the refugee since his present-day appearance, as he calculates it, with the 1917 revolution in Russia. The book contains many useful facts about the refugees and the attempts made to resolve the problems of and around them.

There is even a shorter chapter which tries to describe the state of mind of those who have been homeless for an increasing number of years. Professor Stoessinger, who would like to see a full-scale analysis of the peculiar psychological effects arising from prolonged refugee status, thinks such an analysis would help a future International Refugee Organisation and at least indicate to the UN the urgency of establishing such an organisation.

Professor Stoessinger says that a major weakness of all organisations hitherto set up to deal with refugees has been their assumption that refugees are a temporary aberration. In the present high tide of nationalism and ideological feeling he sees, sorrowfully, no end to refugees of one kind or another.

beneficial to the domestic arrangements for eight resident social workers. Daily help provided and most week-ends free. Applications in writing to the Secretary.

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PPU RELIGION COMMISSION

Pacifist Universalist Service
3.30 p.m., Sunday, September 22
Friends' International Centre
32 Tavistock Square, Euston
Discourse by Antony Bates
"World From the Sun"

THE PEACE FORUM

This is a unique opportunity of discussing national and international problems with prominent members of the pacifist movement.

A cordial welcome to non-pacifists to participate.

FRIENDS HOUSE, EUSTON ROAD, LONDON, N.W.1, at 6.30 p.m. on

Wednesday, September 25, 1957.

(And on the last Wednesday in each month. Book the dates)

Arranged by STANDING JOINT PACIFIST COMMITTEE

UN Emergency Force

★ FROM
PAGE FIVE

varied opposition frankly questioned the legal right of the Assembly to establish such a Force without the consent of the Security Council.

The institutionalisation of violence, old style, was too big a risk for anybody to take; for nobody knew who would one day be at the receiving end.

So "the best-laid schemes o' mice and men gang aft a-gley," UNEF, when it came, turned out to be quite, quite different from the atom-throwing monopoly which had always been the logical, if not the proclaimed, conclusion of the World Policeman who knew, quite rightly, that there could never be real disarmament until "force" were transferred from sovereign States to a sovereign United Nations.

Nobody yet knows, in fact, whether UNEF is a step towards a World Police Force or a step away from it, conceived in terms of what has all along been called "Collective Security" or "Police Action," e.g., as happened in Korea.

But if by "Police Force" we mean civilian action by men in blue uniforms, using not more physical force than the immediately local situation requires to keep people from fighting each other, then UNEF is very much a step towards it.

So careful has UNEF been not to kill anybody—so far, only two deaths have been laid to their charge—that, a few weeks ago, one of our "bellifist" newspapers was (in the absence of more robust "news") sneering at the Force because, at one point of the demarcation line, they were seen throwing bricks to scare away marauders, formerly called "raiders."

Paradoxes

Truth to tell, although a thick sheaf of official documents—regulations governing its functioning, formal agreement between UN Headquarters and the Government of Egypt—and much else—which has sprung up around the Force, is of great interest to international lawyers, all that really matters is that UNEF works.

Nevertheless, its operation is full of queer paradoxes. One of them is that the Israelis never wanted it at all, never voted for it, and still cannot bring themselves to admit it on to their soil in accordance with the Assembly Resolution of February 2 (and so Dag Hammarskjöld won't let UNEF men cross the border and go to tea parties to which the Israelis have recently invited them); yet it has been the Israelis who have

beginning of the world, Abel's blood cried from the ground and Mankind first began to carry around the Mark of Cain on its forehead.

Not a political instrument

Now that that hideous mark has grown into the shape and size of the radio-active cloud that mushroomed over Christmas Island, the manner in which the earth's first peace army is attempting and, in large measure, carrying out its crucial duties in the once Holy Land is of more than passing interest.

UNEF is clearly an experiment, created in an atmosphere of great emergency and beset by many pitfalls. But it is laying down for the future many unique features which may well broaden out into established precedents.

Drawn only from the small and "non-committed" nations, its membership and its contributions in cash and equipment being voluntary, the Force has already received more applications from enthusiastic young men all over the globe than can possibly join in this adventure of peace.

The fact that it has necessarily been drawn from existing military units, bearing arms, and acting under military discipline, is not the essence of the experiment; nor that, unfortunately, one or two deaths have resulted from its distinctly police activities on the very border between the two hostile States.

● The real point is that it is *not* the political instrument of either side to the dispute, and it must, by its very nature (as with national police), act strictly under the (world) law which set it up and gives it its validity and use no more physical force than the actual situation demands for the keeping of the peace.

● It is, moreover, accountable to the United Nations, as such—it is, in fact and law, an "organ" of the United Nations—and not to any of the member-States which compose it.

● It is, in short, a crucial experiment in non-violence in the sense that it will succeed in its functions only in the degree with which it avoids *physical* force and relies upon its intrinsic *moral* authority.

● The more violence it uses the less it will prevail. That is the essence of UNEF.

That, too, is its significance in contemporary world relations and the reason why, as General Burns foresaw, its participants

By Sybil Morrison

'But I say unto you....'

Christians can never be pacifists . . . There will always be wars while there is evil in the world. Although we might live for peace we might have to die for it too. It is a pity that pacifists should try out their experiments at our expense. I don't think it is too strong to say that there is blood upon their hands.—Air Ministry Staff Chaplain, Rev. H. L. O. Rees. Bristol. Sept. 15, 1957.

It is not that Christianity has been tried and found wanting; it has been found difficult and never been tried.

—G. K. Chesterton.

ON September 15, 1940, I was in Holloway Prison, having been arrested in Hyde Park preaching pacifism. To be shut up in a cell under bombardment is an experience so terrifyingly vivid to my remembrance today, 17 years later, that I could easily believe it to be only yesterday that I suffered it.

To see no newspapers, to hear no news broadcasts, to have no knowledge as to whether friends and relatives were alive or dead, was an even worse suffering than the sheer physical fear engendered by the menacing drone of the planes, the shattering din of anti-aircraft guns, the shriek and whine of falling bombs, and the crash of their explosion.

My fellow prisoners, without exception, turned upon the German internees in the other wing of the prison as their scapegoat; they hated and blamed them for the attack; they were the symbol to them of Hitlerism. On the other hand the Governor and the prison staff disliked and blamed me, as the symbol of unpatriotic treachery.

Churchill's "in the fields and on the beaches" speech was reported to us by one of the officers, and afterwards she turned to me and said, with concentrated venom: "If there is an invasion, you will never get out, thank God."

★

With no knowledge as to the condition of the outside world, uncertain even of the survival of any friends who would work for my interests outside, my despair and depression at that moment almost undermined my courage. I knew then, a little of what many Germans must have endured when they were swept away to concentration camps unknown to their friends and relations, and left there without news and without hope.

To be blamed, as I was, by quite intelligent people for Britain's possible defeat was, of course, partly due to ignorance of the size of the pacifist movement in this country and partly to the deeply rooted

peace, and it is hard to see how Christians can argue that it ever will.

The truth is that pacifism has been found difficult and never been tried by any nation. When the Christian Church decides to follow the teachings of its Founder, it will no longer stain its precincts with the flags of battle, and the weapons of Cain, but it will listen instead to the ringing challenge of those stirring words "But I say unto you, love your enemies."

Then will all Christians come to stand beside pacifists of all religions, beliefs and creeds, and to say with them: "NO" to war.

MORE PN SELLERS WANTED

SUNDAY, SEPT. 22.

Hyde Park (Marble Arch), from 2 to 2.30 p.m.

Trafalgar Square (East side of Nelson's Column), from 2.45 p.m.

SEPT. 30-OCT. 4.

Brighton (Sports Stadium, West Street). Daily, outside Labour Party Conference (further information from 3, Blackstock Road, London, N.4).

Middle East

FROM
PAGE ONE

A larger-scale opportunity for Moscow propaganda is hardly to be conceived.

Nor is the competitive struggle to provide the Arab countries with weapons against "the other side" in the least likely to run in favour of the West. There is no black record against the Soviets as there is against the Westerners; and the West, having to finance whatever armament effort it makes, internally or for the benefit of another country, out of direct or indirect taxation, is ill placed to compete successfully with a totalitarian régime, which simply dictates the division between home consumption and exports by a few strokes of the pen.

The same thing, with equal force, applies to economic aid. Even in that field the West is handicapped in any struggle with

truth to tell, although a thick sheaf of official documents—regulations governing its functioning, formal agreement between UN Headquarters and the Government of Egypt—and much else—which has sprung up around the Force, is of great interest to international lawyers, all that really matters is that UNEF works.

Nevertheless, its operation is full of queer paradoxes. One of them is that the Israelis never wanted it at all, never voted for it, and still cannot bring themselves to admit it on to their soil in accordance with the Assembly Resolution of February 2 (and so Dag Hammarskjöld won't let UNEF men cross the border and go to tea parties to which the Israelis have recently invited them); yet it has been the Israelis who have been insisting that UNEF should act in Gaza as an occupation army, civil service, and political power, all rolled into one. No other delegation ever entertained that extreme view of UNEF's scope and functions.

What actually happened on UNEF's arrival in his country was that President Nasser, grasping more speedily than some people the increasing dependence of small nations on the goodwill of the UN Assembly, extended a unique welcome to the foreign military command and declared that he wanted UNEF's mission to succeed, not only as a means of settling Egypt's own problems, but as an instrument for steadying the peace of the world.

He also assured the Secretary-General that UNEF would be "the guest of Egypt." For an Arab host, there is no higher undertaking than this pledge of safety for the stranger.

Thus, a new chapter in the technique of non-violence began a few months ago, not very far from the very spot where, at the

the actual situation demands for the keeping of the peace.

● It is, moreover, accountable to the United Nations, as such—it is, in fact and law, an "organ" of the United Nations—and not to any of the member-States which compose it.

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● The more violence it uses the less it will prevail. That is the essence of UNEF.

That, too, is its significance in contemporary world relations and the reason why, as General Burns foresaw, its participants will have a page to themselves in history, if there is to be any more history, as the first of the few who showed the way to a more sensible and workable peace than that temporary equilibrium of organised mass-violence which has hitherto masqueraded in the tattered garments of peace.

(See 'A Permanent World Force', page 4)

H-bomb – A challenge

"The H-bomb—A Challenge" is the subject of a meeting—co-incidental with the Labour Party Conference, at which James Avery Joyce, LLB, BSc, and two MPs, Joyce Butler and George Thomas, will speak, with a third MP—Victor Yates—in the chair. The meeting will be held at Robertson Hall, Ship Street, Brighton, on Monday, September 30, at 7.45 p.m. Tickets, 1s., can be obtained from the Labour Peace Fellowship, 9r Newmarket Ave., Northolt Park, Middx., or from Sports Stadium, West Street, Brighton.

NEXT WEEK

A PEACE POLICY FOR LABOUR

Special Labour Party Conference Issue.

The Unions, the Labour Party and the H-bomb

By BOB EDWARDS, MP

Civilian Defence for Norway

By PROF. ARNE NAESS

Latest news of the H-bomb campaign.

out, thank God."

With no knowledge as to the condition of the outside world, uncertain even of the survival of any friends who would work for my interests outside, my despair and depression at that moment almost undermined my courage. I knew then, a little of what many Germans must have endured when they were swept away to concentration camps unknown to their friends and relations, and left there without news and without hope.

To be blamed, as I was, by quite intelligent people for Britain's possible defeat was, of course, partly due to ignorance of the size of the pacifist movement in this country, and partly to the deeply rooted belief that pacifism means cowardly surrender. To argue that it requires courage and fortitude of a high order to "turn the other cheek," and that to "turn the other cheek" is a positive action for peace, were words that fell on purposely deaf ears.

In the midst of the fear and distress engendered by the very fact of imprisonment in these terrifying conditions, and the responsibility resting upon the officials of the prison in the unprecedented experience of an air attack upon this country, it is perhaps understandable and excusable that prisoners and officers alike should have lost their heads and been filled with an unreasoning desire to lay the blame for it all upon someone near enough to be made to suffer.

But, for a Christian clergyman, even though a Chaplain to the Air Force, to be so arrogantly certain that Christians cannot be pacifists is much more difficult to excuse or to understand.

To say that while there is evil in the world there will be war is exactly the same as to say that while there is evil in the world there will be evil, which instantly destroys the hope of good.

There are few who would deny that war is evil, and few, surely in the Christian Church would deny that their Master taught that only good could overcome evil.

If to preach the doctrine of pacifism is to stain the hands of pacifists with the blood of their fellows, then the call of Jesus to "love your enemies" must have stained His.

To live for peace, and perhaps to die for peace, may eventually bring peace, but it has been positively and unquestionably proved that to kill for peace has not brought

A larger-scale opportunity for Moscow propaganda is hardly to be conceived. Nor is the competitive struggle to provide the Arab countries with weapons against "the other side" in the least likely to run in favour of the West. There is no black record against the Soviets as there is against the Westerners; and the West, having to finance whatever armament effort it makes, internally or for the benefit of another country, out of direct or indirect taxation, is ill placed to compete successfully with a totalitarian régime, which simply dictates the division between home consumption and exports by a few strokes of the pen.

The same thing, with equal force, applies to economic aid. Even in that field the West is handicapped in any struggle with the Soviets. No individual Russian need ever even gain any knowledge of what he may have to sacrifice in personal comfort for what his Government may offer to another nation in order to win in the competition with the West for popularity among Arabs or in any other under-developed country. In the West, even now before this competition has got into full swing, taxpayers' discontent is already loud enough to pare down plans which might otherwise go forward.

A small but growing number of people in the West are realising this fundamental truth; and, believing themselves particularly enlightened, they advocate a joint condominium between Russia and the West over the Arab countries. As far as the first syllable "con" is concerned—which means "with" or "together"—they are right. But the other three syllables, meaning domination or, at best, a headmaster to pupil relationship, show up the limits of their enlightenment.

They will get nowhere until they have adjusted their minds to the conception of joint service without the least element of domination.

And until that has become practical politics, the Middle East, with its hatred for Israel, reinforced by mass poverty and fierce nationalism, will constitute a more immediate danger to world peace than even Dr. Adenauer's aim at German re-unification on purely pro-Western terms.

SHORTHAND TYPIST WANTED

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THE COLONIAL CHALLENGE TO FREEDOM
SPORTS STADIUM, BRIGHTON, WEDNESDAY,
OCTOBER 2, 7.30 p.m.
FENNER BROCKWAY, MP (Chairman); JAMES CALLAGHAN, MP, JENNIE LEE, MP, KENNETH KAUNDA (Secretary, Rhodesian African National Congress), SPYROS KYPRIANOU (Delegate of the Ethnarchy, Cyprus)
N.B. Meeting will end in time to allow delegates to attend the Mayor's Reception.
THE MOVEMENT FOR COLONIAL FREEDOM
374 GRAYS INN RD., LONDON, W.C.1
Tickets, 1s. each, from Movement for Colonial Freedom, from Labour Party Staff, Brighton, or at the door.

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